1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

996 H'areri, h'areri;
997 H'areri, 'hare! I hare re!
998 H'areri, 'hare! I hare re! H'areri;
999 Hare-e!
1000 H'areri, 'hare, I hare re! H'areri;
1001 Hare-e!

539*
796*

For translation, see the first ritual, lines 72-77.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We have now made four times four circuits of the lodge. In the first four we remembered Mother Earth through the corn. In the second four we sang of the eagles, which are the messengers of the powers above. In the third four we spoke of the prayers we send to Tira'wa through this ceremony. In the last four we lifted our voices to the powers themselves, the mighty power above and all those which are with the Hako.

Four times four means completeness. Now all the forces above and below, male and female, have been remembered and called upon to be with us in the sacred ceremonies which will take place at the dawn. [801]

The night is nearly over when the last circuit is completed; then the Children rise and go home.

SIXTEENTH RITUAL (FIFTH DAY, DAWN)

PART I. SEEKING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

After the Children have gone, the Fathers lie down and wait for the first sign of dawn. They have eaten nothing since they last fed the Children shortly after noon, and they must fast until the close of the ceremony. 796*

At the first sign of dawn the Fathers rise and, preceded by the Ku'rahus with the feathered stems, the chief with the corn and wild-cat skin, the doctors with their eagle wings, and the singers with the drum, go forth to the lodge where the family of the Son is living. As they march they sing the following song; the words mean that the Father is now seeking his child. 539*

The child referred to is usually a little son or daughter of the Son, the man who has received the Hako party. Upon this little child we are to put the signs of the promises which Mother Corn and Kawas bring, the promise of children, of increase, of long life, of plenty. The signs of these promises are put upon this little child, but they are not merely for that particular child but for its generation, that the children already born may live, grow in strength, and in their turn increase so that the family and the tribe may continue. 796*

In the absence of a fifth child of the Son an older person or a mother and her baby may be substituted.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

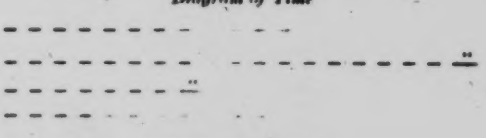
*533 the other powers are addressed, those at the four directions, the above,
*796 and the below, a six-phrase rhythm is used.

The number of the repeats and phrases of the songs seems also to be connected with the ceremonial steps, which are in groups of four, [801] eight, and sixteen. The number sixteen is said by the Ku'rahus to represent completeness.

[826 According to native measurement, the height of a man is equal to
804] the stretch of his arms. Looking at the diagram of the figure stepped upon the ground, we note that sixteen steps give the spread of the arms and the same number of steps marks the length of the man. This bears out the statement of the Ku'rahus that sixteen, or four times four, represents completeness.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Look on us as here we are standing, raising our voices!
*796 Look on us as here we, presenting, lift now these emblems that are so holy up to thy gaze!
Swift, a flash from out of the heavens
Falls on us as here we are standing, looking at thee.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796

Rhythmic Rendition

1

*539 Look down, West gods,[c] look upon us! We gaze afar on your dwelling.
Look down while here we are standing, look down upon us, ye mighty!
*796 Ye thunder gods, now behold us!
Ye lightning gods, now behold us!
Ye that bring life, now behold us!
Ye that bring death, now behold us!

---

[a] Music on page 63.
[b] Music on page 65.
[c] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—Four renditions of this song were recorded without a break in the time. This is interesting because of the 7–8 measures which were always sung in correct time. The transcription is from the first rendition. The only differences were that in the later renditions the seventh measure was omitted and the first tone in the next to the last measure was sung as C instead of E. Such differences are slight but are important to observe in a study of Indian music. The keynote is more prominent in this song than in a majority of the songs under analysis, this tone occurring in every measure except the first. Nine of the 32 intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. The melody tones are those of the second 5-toned scale. A downward sliding of the voice, impossible to transcribe, occurred at the end of the first and third measures. 533*

HAND GAME SONGS

On two occasions the writer had the privilege of attending a hand game of the Pawnee held in the same lodge where the victory dances for returned soldiers had been held. (Pl. 7, *c*.) The first of these games was in 1919 and the second in the following year. The number of Indians in attendance was more than 200. In former times this game was played only by men and the objects hidden were short sticks, but at the present time both men and women take part in the game, hiding small balls, slightly larger than bullets. The man holding the balls moves his hands above his head, puts them behind his back, and does everything possible to mystify and confuse his opponent, while the songs grow more excited as the moment for making the guess approaches. Ghost dance songs are sung in the dancing which takes place at intervals during the game. The balls are hidden by players of one side until the opponents have made five correct guesses in succession. 524 533* 796

The games are often of long duration, the first game attended by the writer continuing about six hours. This game was opened in a ceremonial manner by James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who also recorded the guesses by means of decorated sticks. Seven feathered sticks were placed upright in the ground before him, [24] and this was said to be "as in the Ghost dance." [25] The woman who "gave the dance" stood in the center of the lodge and appointed

[24] Two sets of such sticks are illustrated by Culin, each set consisting of eight sticks. In one set these are 17 inches long, four painted yellow and four painted blue, and all feathered like arrows. In the other set each stick bears a little hoop at its end, decorated with feathers. The same authority illustrates a set of four hiding sticks, 13½ inches long, marked in pairs alike, one pair with six notches on one side and one notch on the other side, and the other pair with an incised cross on each side of the sticks. (Culin, Stewart, Games of the North American Indians, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 274, 275, Washington, 1907.)

[25] The number seven is particularly sacred in the Ghost dance. Thus there were seven Ghost dance leaders, wearing sacred crow feathers as emblems of their leadership.

[801]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 The creation story that was often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about. 773 The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four 796 semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together • 801 was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as [175] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves [136] ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded *484 up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in [202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket, throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

37

THE BIG DOCTOR PERFORMANCE

000

A Combination of Theater and Ceremony—the Form of the Performance—the "Scalped Ones" Mime—Swallowing a Deer Head—the Mud Duck —the Parade through the Village—the Round of Ceremonial Activities—the Sleight-of-Hand Performances

IT MUST BE REMEMBERED that the doctor performance was both ceremony and theater and so regarded by the doctors themselves. The whole organization of the acts, the costuming, and the stage effects were designed to impress and entertain the people while at the same time supporting the confidence of the doctors. While for us in analogous situations, a trilogy or three-act play is considered most satisfying, with a five-act performance secondarily acceptable, for the Pawnees the four-act or fourfold organization is fundamental and based on their cosmic ideology. For more complex organizational forms he would develop four units with a final unit added, an introduction with four basic units less often, or two double-fours, one four following the other with an interim unit between them. During the twenty-day period in which the actual performance would take place, the sequence of acts on subsequent days had a "double-four" character with an interim unit of a different kind, and an introductory unit to the whole series and one in closing. The sequence of the kinds of acts presented might be summarized as A-B A A B—C A C—B A A B-A conceived by the doctors as four B's with at least four-day intervals between each of them filled in either with A's or blank days, with the interim C A C being a special elaboration of the four-day interim theme between the second and third B. The B unit was a large-scale animal mime performed in the late afternoon in the outdoor